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SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT
NIXON AND KHRUSHCHEV ON JULY 28

Khrushchev launched the conversation with a discourse on Soviet rocket and atomic prowess. He spoke of a realizable project for launching rockets with a 100-ton payload. About a week ago the Soviets launched an ICBM over 7,000 kilometers with a final deviation off target of only 1.7 kilometers. However, accidents are always possible. Several months ago an ICBM due to malfunction overshot its mark by 2000 kilometers but fortunately didn't hit Alaska to the relief of the Soviet Government.

In response to a Nixon question, Khrushchev denied he told Harriman the Soviets have supplied rockets to the Chinese Communists. The Soviets will establish bases in Albania and Bulgaria when the United States establishes bases in Italy and Greece respectively.

Nixon said Khrushchev's public statements appear designed to frighten us. The President is highly competent in the military field and he bases policy on an estimate that hostilities would lead to mutual destruction.

Khrushchev agreed to the present correlation of forces between two powers and indicated Soviet statements of the type mentioned by Nixon were made to counter statements of American military figures on U.S. ability to wipe out the U.S.S.R.

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The Vice President noted dangers to world peace arising from the Soviet combination of vast military power with revolutionary foreign policy of supporting internal uprisings in other countries.

Khrushchev reiterated the Soviet position on Berlin. The Soviets could not accept the perpetuation of the state of war with Germany or the occupation regime in West Berlin. However, they could agree to eliminating competition there and to avoiding moral injury to either side. They were prepared to "slow this question down" with some provisional agreement on West Berlin. They could then declare they were ready to accept any agreement worked out by the two Germans. He advocated a peace treaty. He added that if the West was opposed to the recognition of the GDR a formula could be found for a peace treaty without involving recognition. The West would recognize the Soviet right to conclude a peace treaty with the GDR. The U.S.S.R. would agree that the present social system continues and access is guaranteed. He said the U.S.S.R. would never take military steps and urged the West to accept "what the Germans want". (Nikoyan interjected "confederation".)

The Vice President reviewed the Western position. He asked Khrushchev whether there was any room for negotiation in the Soviet position. He could see none in the way Khrushchev had laid the position down and said that the West certainly could not accept the Soviets' proposed changes. Neither the President nor the American

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people would accept a unilateral diktat. Mr. Nixon said that Berlin is important but in the long run the discussion by Khrushchev and the President of such matters as disarmament, tests, trade and the like might be more important. For such discussion to be fruitful there must be an atmosphere of calm, not crisis. He thought the decisions taken in the next year would determine the fate of the world for the next 50 years or more. These decisions would be taken by the President, Khrushchev and other heads of Government but essentially the President and Khrushchev were the key. The Vice President emphasized that it was not necessary to solve all questions at Geneva but it was necessary to set the stage so that future meetings could be fruitful.

Dr. Eisenhower stated the President would end a 25-year career of service to his country in another year and a half and hoped that before then something would happen to ensure that war would never happen.

In discussing disarmament Khrushchev said that "parity" was necessary for such talks. Although he recognized the dangers of atmospheric tests he said for the U.S.S.R. the cessation of tests was an all or nothing matter. He would not accept a cessation agreement limited to atmospheric tests.

Khrushchev stated that the Soviets do not have tactical atomic weapons because of the expense of developing them and because they believe TNT can do the same job.

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